EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT PUBLIC SCHOOLS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO INCLUDE A STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST IN THEIR HISTORY CURRICULUMS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. CON. RES. 121

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC ON MAY 6, 1986

Serial No. 99-96

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

61-057 O WASHINGTON : 1986

H341-74

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EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT PUBLIC SCHOOLS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO INCLUDE A STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST IN THEIR HISTORY CURRICULUMS

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1986

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 9:10 a.m., in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Hawkins and Fawell.

Also present: Representatives Biaggi and Sala Burton.

Staff present: John F. Jennings, counsel; Nancy L. Kober, legislative specialist; Beverly M. Griffin, staff assistant; and Andrew Hartman, Republican legislative associate.

Chairman HAWKINS. The Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education is called to order.

The hearing this morning is on House Concurrent Resolution 121, a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that public schools should be encouraged to include a study of the Holocaust in their history curricula.

I want to take this opportunity to commend our colleague, Congresswoman Burton, for introducing the resolution and requesting this hearing.

Sala, I wish you were on this side of the table joining us. We are pleased to have you appear before the subcommittee and join with us in spending this week in remembrance of those who were executed and who otherwise suffered. We also want to commend you as usual for the manner in which you have approached this very vital subject in our lives today. It is as much before us today as it was years ago, and a person such as yourself has contributed greatly to the discussion. We look forward to your testimony and to that of the other distinguished witnesses. Other members will be coming in, but because we want to make sure that this resolution is pushed forward, we are using this opportunity to do so and we look forward to your statement. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. SALA BURTON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mrs. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this hearing on House Concurrent Resolution 121 which expresses the sense of the Congress that public schools should be encouraged to include a study of the Holocaust in their history curriculums. As you know, this week in May is Holocaust Remembrance Week, and today marks Yom Hashoah, a "Day of Remembrance." In the observances held across the country this week can be found the significance of the legislation we are considering today.

The function of "memory" is essentially that of a teacher. "Remembrance" is the lesson; that is, evidence of what we have learned and how we may profit from it. If we as humans and societies lacked this ability, we would forever lose control of our own destiny. That is why we are here today.

Mr. Chairman, I was born in Poland, where for centuries many of the events which have changed the course of history were played out. For most Europeans, history is not an abstraction or an academic discipline; it is the powerful force that has shaped the circumstances of their daily lives.

For people like this, history is meaningful. For me, that history includes the loss of most of my family—every aunt, every uncle, every cousin, lost to the Nazi perpetrators of the Holocaust. This is a part of my history, and it is lost to me, but it continues to shape my political and social consciousness and will forever heighten my awareness of the fragile relationship between people and their governments.

It has been my experience that, for the most part, this is not true in our country. For young students today, history is but a dry concept, an unavoidable requirement and drudging task with no real relevance for the present or the future. In some ways this is understandable. We are a young nation, with a democratic tradition unbroken by political and social upheaval. Our geography has protected us from the incursions of hostile and aggressive nations and we tend to assume that this will always be so, that our freedom is somehow magically assured.

While this may be understandable, it is certainly not acceptable. In large measure, I think the fault lies in the way we have chosen to teach our children history. It is overly standardized, driven by formula, almost protective in its approach. History, like all subjects, should live and breathe—and avoid, at all costs, the senseless memorization and recitation of facts, dates and episodes. Ideally, we should base our teaching of history on a cumulative understanding of political, social and cultural trends, the events which characterize them and the men and women who shape them.

Finally, we must not shy away from exploring the periods of history that are defined by unimaginable horror and human brutality. It is imperative that students have access to the lessons of the Holocaust. With the exception of only a few States, New York and New Jersey among them, the treatment of the Holocaust in history textbooks is extremely superficial—if it is depicted at all. For the most part, our understanding of the Holocaust begins and ends with the knowledge that 6 million Jews were systematically exter-

minated by the Nazis and their Axis allies in World War II. The fact that 4 million Catholics, gypsies, homosexuals, and other so-called undesirables were cruelly murdered is often glossed over. More importantly, that the "final solution" was the climax of two decades of racial hatred and religious intolerance advanced by Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist Party is generally ignored in our history books.

Mr. Chairman, today we are talking generally about teaching history and specifically about teaching the Holocaust in an open and analytical way. By improving the way we teach history in this country, we will improve our ability to recognize the fact that human behavior drives the events that shape history.

Understanding the complete dimensions of the Holocaust should make failure to recognize a crime of this magnitude impossible. This in itself can help move us in a direction benefiting all mankind.

Again, I thank the chairman, the subcommittee members, and I welcome our distinguished guests who are going to support our resolution.

Thank you.

Mr. Mark Talisman, who is the vice chairman of the Holocaust Memorial Council——

Chairman HAWKINS. Before proceeding to him, may I ask you, Mrs. Burton, you mentioned two States that did include in their history curricula a study of the Holocaust. What is the situation with respect to our State, do you know?

Mrs. BURTON. In California as far as I know there is very little taught on the Holocaust and it is very superficial. We are not trying to tell the States exactly how to teach it, but we want the 20-year or, as I say, a 30-year period which includes the years after World War I through the end of World War II, to have some meaning to our youngsters.

I have a staff person who happens to be a lawyer. He did not know that 10 million people were killed, were brutalized during that period. He heard about the millions of Jews. He did not know that Catholics, gypsies, and homosexuals were also put in that same position. So this is a man who has had education; yet he did not know that. So there is a lack. And he is a Californian.

Chairman HAWKINS. We have a job to do, you and I, among our colleagues.

Let me proceed to the first witness, Mr. Mark Talisman, vice chairman, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. Mr. Talisman, you are not a stranger to us and we look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF MARK E. TALISMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN, U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

Mr. TALISMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to do two things, if I might. I would like to have, as usual, my full testimony inserted in the record.

Chairman HAWKINS. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. TALISMAN. I want to thank you particularly, Mr. Chairman and counsel, for your foresight and willingness to address the ques-

tion of Holocaust education in public schools throughout the United States. My friend, the distinguished member from San Francisco, Sala Burton, has spent years formulating plans for this resolution in a rather unusual way, as you have heard; that is to say, Sala Burton serves as a living testimony herself, an eloquent witness as you have heard, to the ravages of what is called the Holocaust. She was hidden, and she survived. Not many in her family were so lucky.

I suspect that Sala Burton wants so deeply to assure that our children and theirs will never live in the ignorance which mired her own generation and that of her parents which allowed millions of otherwise good people to do nothing even though they knew full well what was happening to millions of innocent people around them.

You see, Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished committee, many of us believe that it was the ignorance of people living in Europe and millions of others in this paradise of democracy in this country which caused there to be so little response to help rescue the millions of Jews and gypsies who were slated for extermination because of who they were.

Hitler tried to "give" his Jews away. He asked other countries of Europe, the United States, Canada and many others to take the Jewish people from him, to leave his Germany free of them. For over 8 years he asked to free Germany of those Jews. No one said yes, and the deafening silence which ensued ensured the destruction of millions of innocents, of whom 1.5 million were children under the age of 15.

This House of Representatives was asked to help them and members of the Subcommittee on Immigration like the late member Emmanuel Celler, a giant in the history of this institution, worked feverishly to see this happen. He fought valiantly, but to no avail to his ever living regret to his dying day. It is hard to imagine that 95 percent of the immigration numbers for the United States went unused from those countries involved in the Holocaust during the entire period of the Holocaust from 1933 to 1945 as millions of people sought refuge here. Boat loads of children wandered aimlessly from port to port along our east coast of the United States as each port slammed its gates shut and thus sentenced these children and adults to certain extermination in the death camps established and run by the Nazis.

Why this horrible sampling of this darkness in our collective history? Precisely because our history books, used today by every middle and high school in most jurisdictions in the United States, make no serious mention of this dark period. It has been expunged from history. At best, most texts with which I am familiar mention that 6 million Jews, indeed, died and that is that. I should hasten to add, however, that there are some brilliant curricula already being used in enlightened systems in some places in this country. Right here in Montgomery County, MD, there is a sophisticated teacher training program which is designated as a regular part of the teacher enrichment program which I had the privilege of participating in and found totally rewarding in every aspect.

Similarly, sound and full curricula exist in Pittsburgh, Brooklyn and dozens of other jurisdictions, but tens of thousands of other

systems are not involved at all in implementing a unit or segment within their educational programs. It is this vast majority of educational systems to whom we wish to address House Concurrent Resolution 121.

You know, Mr. Chairman, I would be the last along with you or any clear-minded member of this committee or the Congress to try to enforce the implementation of any national curriculum on any local government school system. That is not the way education takes place in the United States and we know it. House Concurrent Resolution 121 does not seek to enforce. It is our fervent hope that through the leadership shown by Congresswoman Sala Burton and the endorsement of this subcommittee, the committee and the Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives assembled, that we would ensure that our children and those of many generations yet unborn will know of the heights to which humankind can and does soar, as you will hear eloquently from Sister Rittner, as well as the depths of destruction and blackness that will arise when human dignity is of no importance and others are doomed to destruction.

We must also know the depths to which we can plummet because we do not know. Achievement is singularly diminished and depreciated when we knowingly turn our backs on those who cry out in agony for our help. Ignorance is never a valid excuse from the horrors which can and are committed by millions of good people who do nothing.

Mr. Chairman, this Congress in 1979 and 1980 unanimously consented to the establishment of Days of Remembrance, a historic event. This became the second, only the second country in the whole world to have such Days of Remembrance. People laughed at that. Secretly in the hallways they thought it was a joke; it would not make any difference, that it was not important for that kind of congressional leadership because local people would not pay attention. Yesterday I had the privilege of presiding with Governor Thornburg in the State capital of Pennsylvania at the Ceremony of Remembrance in the State of Pennsylvania, led by the Governor. That all 50 States at noontime yesterday, because of the resolution of Congress, took that leadership from Congress and took it as their own and because of that we had 50 State Days of Remembrance yesterday.

Similarly, because of a resolution that was passed in 1980 by Congress encouraging churches and synagogues to speak out on this moral issue, thousands and thousands of ministers and rabbis throughout the country took up the challenge and where so few were doing it 5 years ago, so many tens of thousands of pulpits are now ringing out with this clarion call, and today at noon, as you know, because of the unanimous consent of the Houses assembled we will gather for the sixth year in the Rotunda under the dome of the Capitol, the most hallowed place on this Earth from my viewpoint of democracy, and the Vice President will join Elie Wiesel, our chairman, along with all of the Members of the House and the Senate and members of the public to pay tribute in remembrance. All of it is focused on remembrance.

And what we ask in House Concurrent Resolution 121 is that the Congress speak its opinion to those who are our educational leadership around the country to be able to ask them to use their best judgment and their creative talent to help our children not be

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condemned to ignorance so that their children will remember where the world has come, to know in their hands where it must go.

I must tell you, Mr. Chairman, that we have a wonderful opportunity from this place where you have presided in such a distinguished way for so many years, from which has come educational leadership that has prompted the local, the smallest of school jurisdictions to understand and to take a challenge. There can be no greater challenge in my view than to fight the subject of forgetfulness.

Our chairman, Elie Wiesel, has said it best. Forgetfulness is as if we, who were not involved directly, had killed those who have died once before. Remembrance is to know and understand so that through that knowledge, through our educational process in the United States, well meaning people who are properly educated will never allow these terrible things to happen to anyone ever again.

Thank you.

Chairman HAWKINS. We thank you for your excellent statement.

[Prepared statement of Mark E. Talisman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARK E. TALISMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN, U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I wish to thank the Chair and others for the foresight and willingness to address the question of Holocaust education in public schools throughout the United States. My friend, the distinguished Member from San Francisco, Sala Burton has spent years formulating plans for this resolution. That is to say, Sala Burton serves as living testimony—an eloquest witness herself—to the results of the ravages of what is called the Holocaust. She was hidden. She survived. Not many in her family were so lucky.

I suspect that Sala Burton wants so deeply to assure that our children and theirs will never live in the ignorance which mired her own generation and that of her parents which allowed millions of otherwise good people to do nothing even though they knew full well what was happening to millions of innocent people around them.

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Mr. Chairman, we know that is wrong to want to enforce the implementation of any curriculum on any locally governed school system. That is not the way education takes place in the United States. H. Con. Res. 121 does not seek to enforce. It is our fervent hope that through the leadership shown by Congresswoman Sala Burton and the endorsement of the United States Congress and Senate, that we will insure that our children and those of many generations yet unborn, will know of the heights to which humankind can and does soar, as they learn of the heroism of Jews who defied destruction and non-Jews who risked their lives to save others doomed to destruction. They must also know the depths to which we can plummet because we do not know. Achievement is singularly diminished and depreciated when we knowingly turn our backs to those who cry out in agony for our help. Ignorance is never a valid excuse from the horrors which can and are committed.

Concerted efforts to encourage local school systems and their state authorities to implement such curricula on the period known as the Holocaust can sensitize young people, so as to assure that such blackness will not happen to anyone else ever again. Its absence, in an otherwise seemingly balanced program of education, leaves yet again unanswered, those questions which will certainly continue to arise before our young people, as they grow up. The answers to those questions would thus have to await, once again, an act of chance, a mere hope for decency, relying upon uneducated base instincts, or being able to rely upon the alternative knowledge gained from their study of what has gone before making choices consciously for decency.

It was George Santyana who wrote, Those who do not understand history are condemned to relive it. Our responsibility is to assure that our children do better than did our parents or us. H. Con. Res. 121 and its principal author who actually lived the nightmare, Sala Burton, are honoring us with this modest, yet powerful answer.

It would be ironic if we now do not now respond affirmatively, in this day and age. We would thus fail in our responsibility to history and also to our children and theirs, as those before us had done when they had been called upon for help to save lives. We cannot and we must not fail their memory or our children's futures. Their world may well depend upon it in no small measure.

Thank you so very much for conducting this hearing. It is said in the Old Testament that the greatest good deed that can be done is that for which their can be no thanks given. This kind of education for our young people may well fit that description in full measure resting upon the knowledge that our young will be better prepared to face history and make better choices than were made in the past. No greater honor can be bestowed upon a person than to be asked to save a life and to respond fully in the affirmative.

Thank you and to Mrs. Burton!

Chairman HAWKINS. The other witness is Sister Carol Rittner, producer of "The Courage to Care," U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council.

Sister Rittner, we welcome you and look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF SISTER CAROL RITTNER, PRODUCER, "THE COURAGE TO CARE," U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

Sister RITTNER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

In our day the push for excellence in American education often has been linked to economic recovery and to jobs. We are often told that better schools will move the Nation forward in the high tech race and tougher math and science standards are required to keep America strong.

Clearly education, national security and the future of our country are linked, but I like to think that when Christa McAuliffe, the teacher-astronaut aboard the ill-fated *Challenger* spacecraft, said, "I touch the future; I teach," she spoke for all of us who believe

that education's most noble task is to help students to become more tolerant, more respectful, more compassionate human beings.

Last week Hyman Bookbinder, the well-known Washington, DC, representative of the American Jewish Committee, published an article in the Washington Post entitled "How can I ever forget?" In it he recalled some of the highlights of where he was and what he was doing during his long professional career, a career spanning nearly 50 years of service to both the Jewish and the non-Jewish communities in the United States. As I read Mr. Bookbinder's words, "How can I ever forget?" I could not help but call to mind Kurt Waldheim, the former Secretary General of the United Nations. Exactly what Kurt Waldheim did as a German intelligence officer in Greece and Yugoslavia between 1942 and 1945, whether he had a part in atrocities may never be known for certain. What is known is that for 40 years he concealed the fact of his military service in the Balkans, misleading the world. That is enough to know. Shameful to say, Kurt Waldheim's kind of forgetfulness is becoming more and more common. Maybe it is not fair to expect that such an important person like Waldheim would acknowledge that he was, indeed, a cog in the wheels of the systemic evil of the widespread and efficient German military bureaucracy that evolved in Nazi dominated Europe during World War II. This would make him so ordinary, so like the perfectly functioning Nazi public servant who quietly did his job without recognizing the relationship between his task and its consequences for others. He was after all just a two-bit player in a vast European theater on whose stage ordinary people performed their tasks with such devastating efficiency, and that is what is so chilling, that there were so many who participated then and want to forget now.

It is true, of course, that history moves at a brisk clip these days. One bloody event after another dots the historical landscape of these 41 years since the end of World War II and the Holocaust. Why not consign the Holocaust to the dustbin of history and get on with the present? Perhaps that question was answered best by the President of the German Federal Republic, Richard von Weizsacker, who spoke to the Bundestag on May 8, 1985, 3 days after the Bitberg affair.

We must look truth in the eye, without embellishment and without distortion. Hardly any country in its history has always remained free from blame for war or violence. The genocide of the Jews, however, is unparalleled in history. Howwever anyone in Germany who opened his eyes and ears and sought information could not fail to notice that the Jews were being deported. Apart from the crime itself, there was an attempt by too many people not to take note of what was happening. There were many ways of not burdening one's conscience, of shunning responsibility, looking away, keeping mum. When the unspeakable truth of the Holocaust became known at the end of the war, all too many claimed that they had not known anything about it or even suspected anything. "Everyone," said, President Weizsacker, who directly experienced that era, "should today quietly ask themselves about his involvement. Whoever closes his or her eyes to the past is blinded to the present. Whoever refuses to remember the inhumanity of those years is prone to new risks of infection."

Well, I confess I understand why people like Kurt Waldheim do not want to remember, for the Holocaust is an historical event whose impact we have yet to fully realize. Sensitive scholars and teachers acknowledge that the experience of the Holocaust in Nazi-dominated Europe marks a turning point in the history of humankind for it raises profound questions, shatters myths about human nature and the dignity of all people long held in Judeo-Christian civilization.

The program of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews of Europe and to achieve what they neatly called "a final solution" is irreconcilable with our commonly held ideas of human progress and development. Those Germans and others who conceived and almost carried out the so-called final solution were citizens of a civilized, culturally-advanced and technologically sophisticated modern nation. For the most part they had been nurtured and educated in a tradition which adhered to Christian and humanistic values, and yet they plunged into an orgy of savagery as an approved national policy on a level which humanity was supposed to have outgrown.

The believability of the Holocaust becomes real when we read books like Ralph Hilberg's, The Destruction of the European Jews, or Lucy Davadovich's, The War Against the Jews or Gildna Housner's, Justice in Germany. They mention the ordinariness of the people who participated: lawyers to draw up the decrees, civil servants to administer them, virtually the whole of the SS to carry out the program with the police and certain sections of the army to assist them, trainmen and truckdrivers to transport the victims, clerks to keep the statistics, bank tellers to tabulate the gold teeth and wedding rings salvaged from the millions of corpses, not to mention the fortunate citizens who received Jewish property, businesses and belongings.

Sometimes I am asked why the Jews should be singled out from the statistics of the millions who suffered and died at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators. Surely, it is argued, there is no hierarchy of suffering, for all peoples and nations suffered enormous losses of life. Surely, it is contended, to dwell only on the murder of nearly 6 million Jews is narrow and parochial and obscures the universal condition of suffering and death.

I shall tell you why I focus on the Jews. To refer to the murder of 6 million Jews as distinct, as unique, is not intended to minimize the deaths of the millions of non-Jews that the Germans brought about. It is not to deny the incontestable fact that the gas chambers extinguished without discrimination all human life. The murder of 6 million Jews stands apart from the deaths of the other millions, not because of any distinctive fate that the individual victims endured but because of the distinct intent of the murderers and the unique effect of the murderers. It was the intention of the Nazis to murder the Jews of Europe because they believed the Jews had no right to live.

Studying about the Nazi genocide and the Holocaust provides countless opportunities for students to analyze and discuss one of the most crucial human and ethical issues which faced people then and faces people today—indifference to the fate of others, to the fate of people who are a different color, a different religion, a dif-

ferent ethnic origin, different sexual orientation or ideological persuasion.

When I teach and study about the Holocaust, I am reminded of the horror we human beings are capable of inflicting upon ourselves and others. I am reminded as well that it was not the finest part of the Christian and Jewish tradition, I might add, that motivated the vast majority of the Christians in Europe during the Holocaust. Do unto others what you would have them do unto you and you shall love the Lord your God with your whole mind and your neighbor as yourself. No. What dominated in far too many instances was the attitude, forget the Jews, no way am I going to risk my neck for them. Besides, they are getting what they deserve. It is a terrible indictment and a shameful failure on the part of the Christians who lived in Europe during the Nazi era. But whom am I to say what I myself would have done then? What I know is that despite the dismal failure of so many there were comparatively speaking a few non-Jews who had the courage to care about what was happening to their Jewish friends and neighbors in Nazi Germany and occupied Europe.

Today on PBS here in Washington and in many cities across the Nation a film, "The Courage to Care," which has been sponsored by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council will be broadcast. It is a film about that small significant chapter in the Holocaust, the righteous gentiles. You may be wondering about such a film calling attention to the few who helped may serve to acquit the millions who did nothing to help Jews during the Holocaust. As Philip Freedman, himself a survivor, said, "It is not the number that matters. What matters is that a small army of valorous men and women opened their hearts and homes to a people marked for extinction, defying the invader and death itself."

Quite honestly, I am thrilled that PBS will broadcast the film, but I am much more interested to get it into classrooms in schools and colleges and churches and synagogues across the country because I believe that it is vital for students to have knowledge about the conduct and behavior of people who during the Holocaust acted as decent human beings when so many others did not. The students who may be deaf to the sound of accusation or to the awesome noise of violence or evil may pay attention to the small slice of goodness that comes through in the people whose experiences are so sensitively and poignantly told in "The Courage to Care."

Maybe the film, "The Courage to Care," will help teach a lesson that Kurt Waldheim missed when he was in school. That to be human means to care about others who are in danger. to act, to help them. Perhaps it will help all of us in studying the Holocaust to remember where we are and what we are doing and to be cognizant of the consequences of our actions, significant or insignificant that they may seem to be.

As the real master, the Baushemtub, the Revered Master of Good Name, reminds all of us, "Forgetfulness leads to exile. It is remembrance that leads to redemption."

Thank you.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you.

Mark.

Mr. TALISMAN. Mr. Chairman, something odd has happened in this hearing room, and I think it is important to bring it to the attention of the committee so there is no misunderstanding. There is in this democracy a wonderful opportunity for everyone to say what they believe. There is a pile of testimony on the press table, one of which is submitted from The Institute for Historical Review from your State of California. It proudly supports House Concurrent Resolution 121, which I find odd, but they do. They are a source of publication of documents and books which deny the existence of the Holocaust. They are treated very seriously. Their material is widespread throughout the land, and as one sentence says here that this "can serve as an antidote to the often self-serving representations of people who would profit directly from deceitful and unhistorical Holocaust claims." It denies, in fact, that the millions were slaughtered by the Nazis; in fact, they were not slaughtered by the Nazis but are hiding in places like Israel and New York.

It is that material that our young people are being pressed with right now for which, in fact, the antidote are the facts and good historical presentation which is fully documented by the President of the United States and everyone else. So I would hope that this would serve as the best testimony, this release, as to why we need precisely what Sala Burton has introduced in this Congress and which you, Mr. Chairman, have been so helpful on in regard to this hearing.

Thank you.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you.

The committee obviously wishes to disassociate itself from the circulation of this material. My understanding from checking with staff is that someone this morning just put it on the table. That seems to indicate the credibility of those who tend to circulate this material. If the individual had only requested so, the Chair would have allowed the individual to testify and to present his views openly so he could be questioned. I suppose all we can do is ignore it and I certainly hope it is ignored.

The Chair would like to ask just one question in terms of procedure, and I assume that the Chair will be the principal manager of the resolution through the committee. At least it is obvious Mrs. Burton will do so on the floor itself. But in terms of previous such resolutions, questions have arisen with respect to why other examples of genocide are not included why not the Armenian, why not the Cambodian. I suppose as usual we will get other suggestions for amendments to the resolution. In that event, Mrs. Burton, what is your position with respect to broadening the resolution in such a way as to make it almost meaningless?

Mrs. BURTON. I support the other resolutions and have worked for them and have done so since I have been here in the Congress. However, it really does not belong in this resolution. I say there is a 20-year period where the Holocaust, you know, was the "final solution," except we have to learn why it started, what happened, what Hitler tried to do, what did the country that he became chancellor of do in his name? I think that is different than talking about an incident which was brutal in terms of the Armenian people and any other Holocaust that we have had in the world. I think this is quite different, and I think that it does not belong in

this resolution, although I am a firm supporter of the Armenian peoples wanting some sort of a comment on man's inhumanity to man, and I worked toward it except that, unfortunately, our State Department was not very happy with it and we did not get it through.

Chairman HAWKINS. Mark.

Mr. TALISMAN. I would not insult the intelligence of curriculum developers around the country in regard to helping them develop their own curriculum and how they teach the event. It is perfectly possible within the context of good education and historically proper and correct to develop the roots of the Holocaust which would include an exposition that is really important on the origins of the word "genocide" which derived from Ambassador Morgenthal, our own ambassador in 1917 and 1918 in Turkey who invented the word to describe the subject of the destruction of the Armenian people, and Hitler's comments later, who would remember the Armenians, when he talked about the destruction of the Jews. Local curriculum developers who are good, and they are good, when loosed on this subject will make the unit proper and make it full; and I think for any of us to dictate on a national level would be wrong.

The focus of the resolution must be on the major subject, to encourage people hopefully to address this subject. That is our hope here and I think it can only be the hope of the Congress as well as with the other things Congress has done and I think it best be left at that.

For me to sit here and ask you why it is that the Smithsonian does not appropriately address the American Indian is a valid subject. Is it a valid subject for this resolution is the question. I think it is a separate matter that needs to be addressed and should be addressed. No one is trying to denigrate any of these other tragedies in any way, and they all need to be addressed as a properly, full educational subject.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you and again I wish to commend the witnesses and you, Mrs. Burton, in particular for presenting the resolution. The Chair will do everything possible to expedite it; and if I do not, you will make sure I will expedite it. But I will, certainly with great respect for your views. The Chair has been educated quite a bit himself this morning. I think that is a good indication of why the individual can go to the public schools and an institution of higher learning and not know as many facts as I personally know about the subject. I think that is certainly itself a good argument in favor of the resolution.

Mr. Biaggi.

Mr. BIAGGI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to commend my colleague, Mrs. Burton, the gentlelady from California, for testifying on this resolution this morning. I think it is critical that we pass this resolution because there is a tendency on the part of human beings, given the nature of the previous genocides, to forget with the passage of time. The fact of the matter is the Anti-Defamation League in a recent poll of two Midwestern States revealed that 42 percent of the people preferred to resist thinking about the Holocaust and a similar poll by the American Jewish Committee found an identical experience; and even

among the Jewish community, the young and the old prefer naturally to forget the horrible past, the horrible experiences because it is the dark side of life. They prefer to go on. And that is a problem within the Jewish community.

And although we say we will never forget, the fact is we do, and it must be memorialized, institutionalized because it is a reflection of something that occurred in our time in our civilization. It is a blight on our civilization. Six million Jews and several million non-Jews. I think the additional focus should be placed on the overall picture.

And, Mark, what you say is clear. Any educator that is desirous of dealing with the subject would have to go into the whole history of the genocide, with the principal thrust being the Holocaust. Absent the Holocaust, we would not be talking about genocide today, yesterday or tomorrow.

But it is important to have this resolution and as many times as possible—as many times as possible. As many reminders as we can over the years should be developed because absent that I am afraid the normal course of human behavior will find an erosion of memory and diminution of commitment and an absence of reflection upon the horrible past.

I commend the gentlelady for her testimony.

Mr. TALISMAN. Mr. Biaggi, I cannot resist the moment just to punctuate what you said. There was recently a national teen magazine poll among teenage subscribers, fairly broad based across the United States. I do not have the citation. I could not get it for the committee so I hesitated to mention it. But I sense it in the classes I teach myself on a volunteer basis. They were asked to identify 40 illustrious historical figures in one simple sentence. Hitler's name arose and 39 percent of the young people present who sent in the material indicated he was a rock star. We have a lot of work to do.

Mrs. BURTON. May I make one comment, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank Mr. Biaggi for his kind words. In my testimony I did state there were 4 million others beyond the 6 million Jews that suffered in the Holocaust.

I thank you very much for your comments.

Chairman HAWKINS. Again, I wish to thank you, Mrs. Burton, Mr. Talisman and Sister Rittner. The subcommittee will be marking up other bills next Tuesday, May 13. The Chair would include this resolution on the agenda for that particular day, and I think I can anticipate favorable action, Mrs. Burton.

Mrs. BURTON. Thank you. May I put my testimony in the record Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HAWKINS. Without objection, the testimony of the three witnesses in its entirety will be included in the record.

Thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 9:50 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

[Material submitted for inclusion in the record follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JIM SAXTON A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Chairman Hawkins, thank you for giving me the opportunity to participate in today's hearing. I am pleased to be here since I, too, believe our nation's children would benefit from learing about the horrors perpetrated against humanity during

the Holocaust. We cannot give comfort to the victims of the Holocaust, but we can learn from their experience and prevent such atrocities from occuring again.

The 1984 report of the New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education to Governor Tom Kean includes the findings of a study conducted a few years ago of New Jersey students. The study found that "students had little or no knowledge of the Holocaust or genocide; students needed more training in the consequences of bigotry and personal decision making; students needed better curriculum materials which included the horrors of the period to facilitate cognitive-moral development; and finally, students needed to learn to make rational moral judgements in determining the future direction of our society. In short, the lessons of the past must be understood to avoid their repetition."

New Jersey has since take several steps to assure that lessons of the past are understood. I would like to outline for the Subcommittee these steps in the development of a Holocaust education.

In 1975, education in Teaneck and Vineland undertook a joint effort to develop a Holocaust curriculum for New Jersey students. In 1976, these teachers developed curriculum guides and collections of readings, and Holocaust education became a requirement in Vineland and Teaneck as units in American and world history classes. Also, "The Conscience of Man", an elective which still attracts many students in Vineland, was devised by Harry Furman.

In 1978, the New Jersey State Department of Education assisted the two school districts in the development of a comprehensive curriculum. The result was "The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience." The principal authors of this course are Richard Flaim, Harry Furman and Kenneth Tubertini of the Vineland school distict; Edwin Reynolds and John Chupak of Teaneck. The dedication of these individuals is a vital link in the development of Holocaust education in New Jersey.

Devising a Holocaust curriculum was a successful and popular project. Unfortunately, some resistance was met. Anti-Semitic hate mail began to arrive. However, thoughtful educators used these letters as potent instrumental tools.

Ultimately, "The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience was published by the Anti-Defamation League in New York City. The comprehensive course helps high school teachers improve the teaching of historical and contemporary issues relating not only to Nazi atrocities, but to genocide in general as well. Armenian and Cambodian genocide are two examples of issues discussed in the text.

Over 1500 teachers have been trained by the educators from Vineland and Teaneck. Also, the Netherlands government has translated the text into Dutch for use by the children of Holland.

Governor Tom Kean signed an executive order in 1982 establishing the New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education—the first of its kind in the United States. Members include survivors, children of survivors, resisters, historians, university professors, doctors, lawyers, a college president, an Armenian, clergymen of different faiths, Polish survivors, and teachers. Gerald Flanzbaum was named chairman, and he appointed chairpersons for four working committees: Awareness (Maud Dahme), Curriculum Implementation (Richard Flaim and Sanford Hollander), Materials Resources (Jeanette Friedman-Sieradski), and Human Resources (Luna Kaufman).

The mission of the Council is to facilitate and implement Holocaust education objectives through programs and curricula in the schools of New Jersey. Also, the Council is to increase public awareness of the subject. In so doing, the diligent and committed members of the Council have contributed greatly to the cultural and educational life of New Jersey.

The Council issued a report to Governor Kean regarding its findings and recommendations. However, the Council believed that further work was necessary, so Governor Kean signed a second executive order extending the Advisory Council through November 30, 1986.

I believe that New Jersey is a model for all states in the development of a Holocaust curriculum. Consequently, I introduced a resolution in the House, H. Con. Res. 133 which, like Congresswoman Burton's resolution which we are disussing today, encourages all the states to develop a Holocaust curriculum.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your holding a hearing on this important matter, and I thank you again for the opportunity to participate. I look forward to the Subcommittee's approval of Mrs. Burton's bill, H. Con. Res. 121.

61-057 (20)